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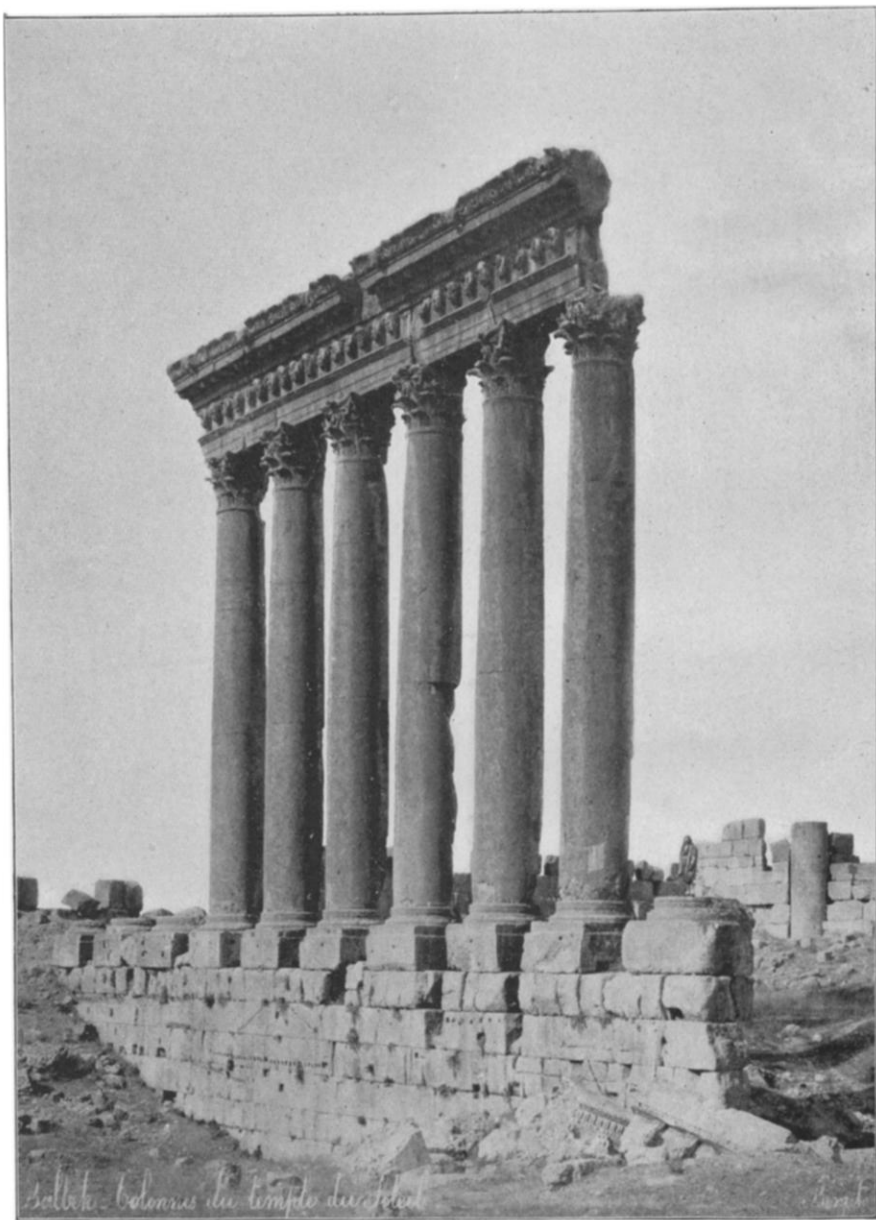
NUMBER I

MILESTONES IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY: OR TENT
TEMPLE, TABERNACLE, SYNAGOGUE, AND
CHURCH.

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It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the question, What was the earliest form of religion, whether fetichism, or animism or nature worship, or something different from any of these. Only this much may be premised, that it is dangerous to be dogmatic as to the prior claims of any one to the exclusion of the rest. In the study men may outline the course which religious ideas and practices might be expected to take, but in actual life human beings combine many and even conflicting ideas at the same time. Hegel may project a science of history; but neither individuals nor communities feel called upon to consult the philosopher before they act. However religion arose, it exists now, and from a very early period it has existed

Nor is it my intention in this discussion to argue the question whether all religions are due to a primitive revelation; the false religions being therefore corruptions of the true. Dr. Edkins, in his book, *The Early Spread of Religious Ideas, especially in the Far East*, answers the question in the affirmative, as did the majority of theologians in former times. Most modern students



COLUMNS OF THE SUN-TEMPLE AT BAALBEK.

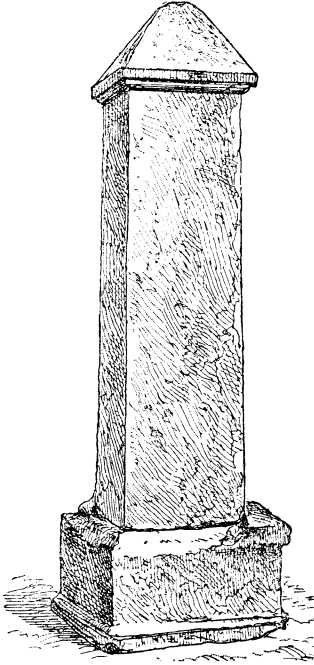
From a Photograph by Bonfils.

of anthropology and of the science and history of religion, and a growing number of theologians, are of the opinion that at the first religion was in a very nebulous and corrupt condition; that, as was the case in intellectual and moral conceptions, so likewise

in religion, man's ideas advanced from lower to higher, and from higher to ever higher developments.

If this last view be the right one, and the Bible is to be believed, its early narratives must not be understood literally; rather are they to be regarded as teaching through the channel of allegories the truth that ultimately all religion is of God; the *fact* of its divine origin, and not the *method* of its inculcation being the most essential matter.

Since W. Robertson Smith wrote his *Religion of the Semites* (1889), which has appeared in a second edition, the view learnedly advocated by him has been largely held among historians of religion. This view is that the religion of the common Semitic people was originally tribal,



PHENICIAN MASSEBAH.

each tribe worshipping a god of its own, some ancestor or some animal, called its totem. No member of one clan recognized the god of another. Jehovah himself began by being first of all a tribal deity, the God, that is, of the race descended from Jacob. That the worship of the true God should have been introduced in the way of Semitic habits of thought, that the seed of the universal religion should have been sown in soil already prepared to receive it, need neither surprise nor alarm us. It is a question which affects the *method*, not at all the *validity*, of the Old Testament revelation.

Each deity of these Semitic tribes had a special sacred place where his worshipers offered to him prayers and sacrifices.

This accounts for the large number of consecrated spots which the Israelites found in Canaan on their reaching that country; these Israelites, however, worshiped Jehovah at those shrines, though the danger of worshiping there the original deities and of practicing the immoral rites connected with the local cult was ever found great.

We commonly connect the religion of Israel with the tabernacle and the temple. I do not wish at this point to anticipate my discussion on the historicity of the former, and of its relation to the latter, but in fact we have in the *asherahs* and *massebahs* of the Old Testament traces of earlier stages in the religion. *Asherahs*, very inaccurately rendered "groves" in the Authorized Version, transliterated in the Revised Version, were originally, according to most modern authorities, trees worshiped as gods. Then the stump of a tree, or any erect piece of wood, came to be used instead.¹

*Masseboth*² (the plural of the Hebrew word *massebah*) were blocks of stone which were worshiped as deities. Libations of milk and honey were offered to them.³ At first rude blocks of stone, later on artificial obelisks, did duty instead. Such an obelisk we have in Cleopatra's Needle on the Thames Embankment, London.⁴

In the beginning no building was erected for deity. The gods were out in the open air, lived and had their being in tree or in stone; nor in these times of the morning of history were there priests; every man offered his own sacrifices. Later on the head tribesman was at the same time king and priest, as was Agamemnon among the Greeks, and Job and Abraham among the Israelites.

In the course of time men thought they should treat their deities as well as they treated themselves, and make them homes to dwell in, where they would be protected from heat

¹ Cf. W. ROBERTSON SMITH'S *Religion of the Semites*, first edition, p. 171.

² Cf. Hosea 3 : 4 ; 10 : 12.

³ *Relig. of Sem.*, pp. 183-188.

⁴ Cf. the diagram in BENZINGER'S *Biblische Archäologie*, p. 380 f., and NOWACK, II, 18 f.

and cold. Previous to this, however, man had localized the presence and power of his gods. But it is of consequence to note that the first religious buildings were for the god and not for the worshiper; this characteristic ran through the early religions, and it shows itself in modern pagan worship. It applies to the three biblical temples (or two, if the temples of Zerubabel and Herod are made one, as by Jewish authorities is commonly done), and to the tabernacle. The people were never to enter them; they dare not go beyond the courts. The priests were permitted to enter the "outer sanctuary (*haikal*);" in later times the high priests alone were allowed to enter the *dēbhār*, "most holy place."

It will be seen that modern Christian places of worship do not answer to the Jewish temples. Christians believe that Jehovah is as truly present in their churches as he was in the Jewish temple, but the people enter also, and there are praise and instruction in them, while in the temple there was but burning of incense.

The altar of burnt offering was outside the temple. Men could, and did, themselves, offer at this. I may be reminded of the so-called golden altar of incense (if indeed the epithet "golden" be not a later addition, as Stade, Nowack, and others hold) which was in the *haikal*; but it was expressly enjoined that no sacrifice should be offered on this (Ex. 30:9). In Ezek. 41:22 it is called the "table that is before Jehovah," and this is a more correct name than "altar," which, as the object so described was not used for sacrifice, conveys to us a wrong impression.

Dr. A. B. Davidson (in his commentary on Ezek. 41:22) says that the table of shewbread is called an altar because the cakes on it were as an offering to the Lord. The so-called "altar of incense" is now commonly considered to be identical with the table of shewbread.

TABERNACLE OR TEMPLE, WHICH FIRST?

We have two accounts of the tabernacle in the Old Testament, or rather we have the history of two perfectly distinct

structures wrongly identified as the same. One of these is called *ohél*, "tent," or *ohél mo'édh*, "tabernacle of the congregation" (A. V.) or "tent of meeting" (R. V.). This was pitched outside the camp (Ex. 33:7), and above it Jehovah revealed himself in a pillar of cloud (*cf.* Num. 11:25; 12:5; 14:10). All these references belong to JE, or more strictly to E, though according to Kautzsch, *Heilige Schrift*, the last passage belongs to P. Confining ourselves to JE, the oldest source of the Hexateuch, with minor exceptions, we know nothing more of this religious structure than that it was a tent. We have no hint of the elaborate and expensive furniture which is connected with the tabernacle. Movable shrines of this kind were common among the Semites. In later times, too, such tents were employed at the high places (*cf.* Ezek. 16:16, "high places decked with divers colors;" 2 Kings 23:7, "house of Jehovah where the women wove hangings for the *ashera*;" Hosea 9:6, "Thorns shall be in their tents" (*cf.* Syriac *pěrakkâ* and the Assyrian *parakku*, which mean a small chapel or shrine). According to Brockelmann's Syriac Lexicon, the former word means likewise "altar." The root is that of *pěrôketh*, which in the Old Testament means "veil."

These portable tents were, we know, common among the nomad Semites, and according to the JE (or E) account of the wilderness wanderings this is what the Israelites carried with them during these wanderings, and in Canaan it was their sanctuary until the temple was erected. God was supposed to have his home in the covering which, in their haltings, they spread out. Only thus could he come and dwell among them; sacrifice was offered outside, not inside, and no man was allowed to enter except the priest.

Our revisers have wisely, and, I think, uniformly, used "tent" or "tent of meeting" for the names given to this simple, sacred structure. The same names, however, are occasionally though rarely given to the more elaborate construction described in P (as in Ex. 31:7; 36:37; 39:38; Num. 9:17; 11:24, 26; 12:10, etc.).

Now the tabernacle described by P as that worshiped in,

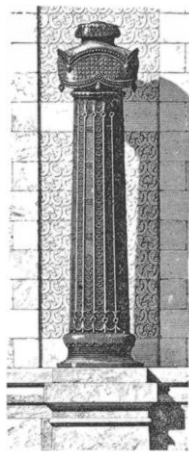
and carried through the wilderness, is a wholly different thing. The usual Hebrew word for it is *mishkân*, "dwelling;" cf. *shekhina*. The A. V. and R. V. agree in using for it the word "tabernacle." The A. V. confuses matters by using "tabernacle" for the other Hebrew word *ohél*, "tent," as well. The R. V. for this last employs "tent," and so keeps up the distinction. The *mishkân* or tabernacle was constructed by Bezaleel and Aholiab and other skilful men on a most elaborate scale and in a style that is highly artistic. There was used in its making an immense quantity of wood and of different metals. This, together with the high degree of art culture implied, comports but ill with the wilderness life. Fergusson, in his *Temples of the Jews*, p. 33, says the art of the tabernacle is wholly different from that of Egypt. According to Ex. 38:24, 25 (P) the gold used in the workmanship weighed twenty-four and one-half tons; the silver weighed over eighty-five tons, *i. e.*, in all one hundred and nine and one-half tons; this, apart from the weight of other materials. How all this and much more could be carried about in the wilderness is at least very hard to understand.

Other considerations of a general kind are thought to oppose the historicity of this tabernacle in wilderness days; as that its existence then implies a development of religious thought and ritual of which the prophetic writing and the oldest history of the Bible in the Hexateuch, Samuel and Kings, Amos, Hosea, etc., show no knowledge.

According to the great majority of modern critics the P account of the tabernacle, and the corresponding history in the "Chronicles" belong either to exilic or to post-exilic days. The tabernacle is, in other words, not the prototype, but a copy of the temple; and it is a copy of the post-exilic temple, not of the earlier one. Had it been the model of the first temple, as the P writings suggest, then we should expect the tabernacle and the first temple to agree, when either disagrees with the second temple. But facts are quite contrary to this. The first temple had no outer court; the distinction between priests and people was much less marked. Even Solomon could sacrifice in the first temple. The second temple had an outer court; so had the

tabernacle. The idea of priestly sanctity had now made great strides.

The first temple had ten golden candlesticks, and ten tables of shewbread. The second temple had but one of each; so likewise the tabernacle. There are other features in which the second temple and the tabernacle agree in their disagreements with the first temple. With the two first the temple described by Ezekiel in the last eight chapters of his book is consistent. It is probable that Ezekiel's temple supplied the pattern for Zerubbabel's temple and for the tabernacle. As the prophet brooded over the past of the nation, its greatness, its Solomonian temple, he saw as in a dream a better time than any previously known. There would be a yet more glorious temple, and he proceeds to picture his ideal temple, based on the past, but adapted to the new age. This ideal temple was not alone the exiled prophet's; it was that of his fellow exiles as well. And when at length they were allowed to return, their first task was to translate this ideal into fact; this was done so far as was practicable. But another step was demanded. Moses stood in their eyes higher than ever. The people had been banished for not listening to him and keeping his law. This ideal temple — Moses, the ideal man, must have had a religious structure as much like this as nomad life made possible. Indeed, as noted before, the wilderness temple or "tabernacle," as we call it, was not limited to what seems to us possible to nomad life. In an age such as that which succeeded the exile, when the priest was everything, and when the worship of Jehovah seemed inseparable from the ritual of the temple, it was very natural to imagine Moses and the Israelites of his time worshiping God in some such way as the folk of these post-exilic days did. Nor in this is there any gross violation of principle. The essential fact

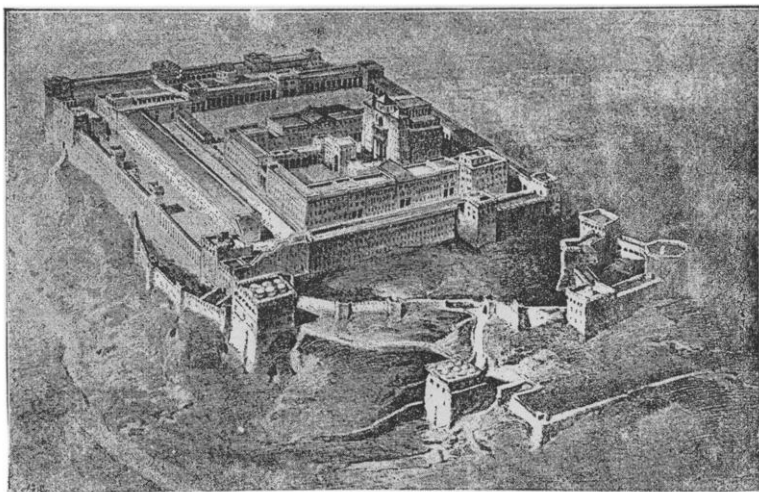


BRONZE COLUMN OF
TEMPLE FROM BIBLI-
CAL DESCRIPTIONS.
(Restored by Ch. Chipiez.)

[Perrot and Chipiez : *History of Art in Sardinia, Judea, etc.*, Vol. I, Plate VI.]

which they had to note was that God *was* worshiped; it is but an accident of the history, only the drapery wherewith the central truth is clothed, that these people failed to understand the worship of God except in their own way.

Do not the Old Testament prophets, in looking forward to the Messianic time, follow the same method as these post-exilic

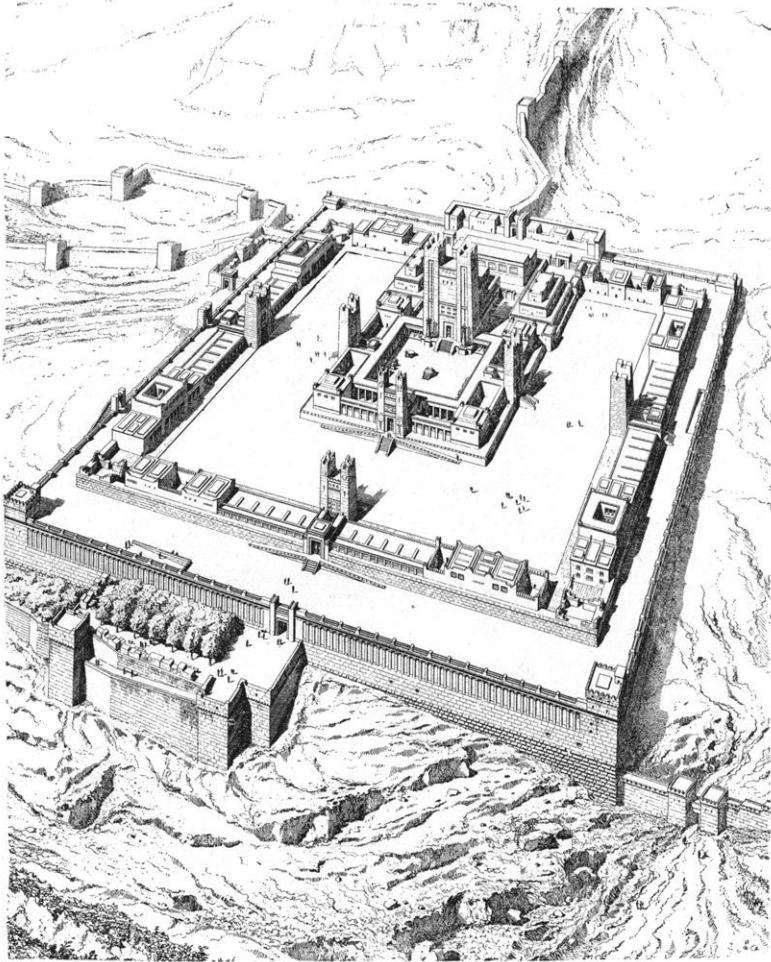


THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON. (Restored after a model by Baurat Schick in Jerusalem.)

[Riehm: *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*, 2d edition, Vol. II, p. 1649.]

writers in looking backward? Censure of these last must be accompanied, if we are consistent, with censure of the former. Amos 9: 11 thinks of the Messianic time as one in which north and south Israel would be rejoined, and a King of the house of David would reign over them. Micah sees the temple on Mount Zion exalted above the mountains as the throne of Jehovah (*cf.* Micah 4: 1-5; Isaiah 2: 1-4). The meaning of this is that Jehovah's worship in the temple would be recognized by all nations. With him, too, the Davidic dynasty is to be restored, but the dominion of David was to be widened (4: 8).

We are told by Amos (9: 12) and by Isaiah (11: 14) that the Edomites, Philistines, Ammonites and Moabites would all yield obedience to Israel and worship the Israelite's God. This,



TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM AFTER EZEKIEL. VIEW TAKEN FROM THE EAST SIDE.
(Restored by Ch. Chipiez.)

[Perrot and Chipiez: *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa, etc.*, Vol. I, Plate II.]

in Isaiah 19:23, is said of the Assyrians and Egyptians. Had these ancient seers spoken in any other manner they would not have been “understood” of the people. But the grand truth looking out from these beautiful descriptions is that Jehovah would be served from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth.

According to Mal. 1:11, when all men come to worship the

true God incense will be burned and sacrifices offered. Roman Catholics have argued from this that these ancient forms of worship are to retain their place in the Christian church. They commit the same blunder as those who interpret literally Old Testament prophecies as to the final return of the Jews to Palestine, the appearance of Messiah on Mount Moriah, etc. All of these betray ignorance of the character of Old Testament prophecy. The future to the prophet was always a glorified present. So to the post-exilic prophets and historians the glorious past in which Moses stood as center was a glorified present, the worship was similar, only more perfect.¹



CAPITAL OF BRONZE COLUMN FROM BIBLICAL DESCRIPTIONS. (Restored by Ch. Chipiez.)

[Perrot and Chipiez: *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa, etc.*, Vol. I, Plate VII.]

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE TEMPLE.

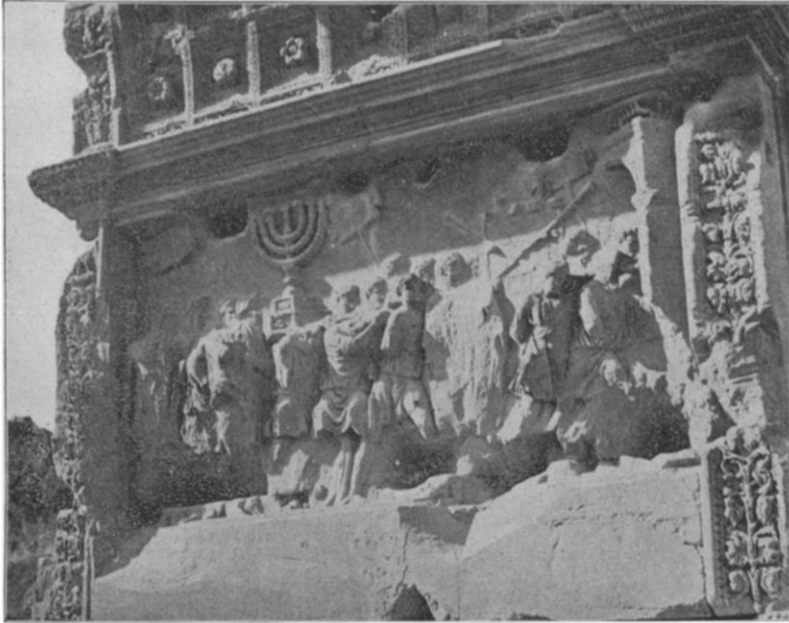
Whence was the plan of Solomon's temple obtained? The later temples were of course modeled on this.

From God we say; but in what way, through what channel was the knowledge conveyed? In other words, was the style of architecture Phœnician, or Egyptian, or what?

¹ For vigorous and more or less able vindications of the historicity of the P tabernacle consult the following: BÄHR'S *Symbolik*, I, 285; HENGSTENBERG'S *The Books of Moses and Egypt* and the untranslated *Beiträge*, II, 431; KEIL'S *Biblical Archaeology*, I, 161; BISSELL'S *Biblical Antiquities*, 294; DR. BAXTER'S *Sanctuary and Sacrifice*, a reply to Wellhausen, Part I, chap. 2.

For a plain and forcible defense of the critical position see W. ROBERTSON SMITH'S article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Tabernacle."

Benzinger (*Biblische Archäologie*, p. 385) holds the architecture to be Egyptian, and gives a detailed account of the temple of Amon Re at Karnak (see frontispiece in BIBLICAL WORLD, June 1897) to show how much like this Solomon's temple was.



CANDELABRUM ON THE ARCH OF TITUS ON THE *VIA SACRA* AT ROME.

From a Photograph.

One of the principal points of resemblance is the threefold division, but Nowack (II, p. 34, n. 3) points out that this same feature characterizes the ancient temples of Sicily.

Puchstein (*Jahrbuch des Kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. VII, Part I) and Nowack (*Biblische Archäologie*, II, 34) argue for the Syrian origin. W. Robertson Smith (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, "Temple"), Perrot and Chipiez (*History of Art in Sardinia, Syria, and Asia Minor*, p. 141), and Friedrich (*Tempel und Palast Salomo's, Denkmäler phoenikischer Kunst*) trace the style to Phœnicia. The fact that the architect Hiram Abu was brought from that country lends strong support to this last view.

W. B. Cobb (*Origines Judaicæ*, p. 242) makes the Assyrian factor the main one. Puchstein indeed does this too, but he contends that the art of Assyria is originally Syrian.

Fergusson (*The Temples of the Jews*, p. 33) pronounces the problem insoluble, only that he says Egypt is out of the question. He thinks the valley of the Euphrates or Phœnicia the most likely home of the temple architecture. He does not, however, support his belief by any arguments of weight as the others do.

The decision to which I, a layman in such matters, have come is that Phœnician or Syrian art—it is hardly possible to distinguish these two—was that followed in the construction of the temple, but the arguments of Benzinger, of Cobb, and of others, go to show that there was a close resemblance between the sacred architecture of the Semitic world and of Egypt.

THE TEMPLE AND CENTRALIZATION OF WORSHIP.

By Dr. W. L. Baxter (*Sanctuary and Sacrifice*, p. 5 f.) it is contended that the erection of the temple is a proof that even in Solomon's time worship was centralized at Jerusalem, and that the very existence of the temple was a condemnation of worship at the high places. He maintains on the strength of this opinion that the alleged centralization of B. C. 621, Josiah being king, was no new thing. It is held by nearly all modern scholars that Josiah's reform marked a new stage in the history of the religion of Israel; that the Deuteronomic code, the book found in the temple, was a product of the time; that now for the first time the doctrines of one God and no other, of one sanctuary and no other, of one priestly tribe and no other, were made integral parts of the nation's faith.

Now, Dr. Baxter writes very strongly; far more strongly than he reasons. The temple was never intended to supersede the high places, and accordingly from the days of Solomon down to Josiah's time these high places continue to be used without censure. This could not have been so if the building of the temple meant the ending of worship at the local shrines. Indeed Dr. Baxter fails to put forward a shred of proof in

behalf of his thesis. He says the fact that local worship was practiced does not prove it was sanctioned, and he adduces a few instances in which such worship was practiced after the time of Josiah. But he omits to mention a most important and to him damaging difference; previous to B. C. 621, local worship was practiced and *allowed*; at least it is never condemned. After this date it was practiced but *condemned by the nation's leaders*. Now for the first time this worship became illegal and local sanctuaries were gradually suppressed. The need for this arose from the danger of worshipping the gods to whom these sanctuaries were originally dedicated, and of practicing the immoral habits that were a part of the primitive cult.

At first the temple was itself nothing more than one of many sanctuaries. Because, however, it was that used by the king and nobles, and it was situate in the capital, it naturally attracted most attention. These facts, together with the growing influence of the Jerusalem priests, made it easy to bring about the suppression of the provincial sanctuaries so that Jerusalem alone became the proper place for sacrificing.

A practical question arises. When the high places were put an end to where did the mass of the people worship? The male population went up to Jerusalem three times a year; they were not commanded to go oftener. The females were under no obligation to go up at all. Was there no other formal worship than that of the temple after B. C. 621? Probably the father acted as priest of the family as in the case of Job and the other patriarchs. Prayers were made and sacrifices offered in the home. It is not at all likely that the temple was ever intended to put an end to this; certainly it was not designed to put a closure upon worship at the high places. These last, as long as they were sanctioned, met the needs of different localities, and out of this combined—one might say coöperative—worship, would naturally come the demand for a special order of men to offer sacrifices. After the exile the synagogues spread all over the land, but this new institution, as will be seen, met a demand altogether different from that supplied by the high places or by the temple.

THE SYNAGOGUE.

There is no certainty as to when or how the synagogue originated. Dr. Stade was once asked why, in his elaborate history, he does not explain the origin of the synagogue? The answer was: "Because I do not know its origin." Yet, with even less definite knowledge than Dr. Stade, it is not possible to forbear speculating.

There is not in the whole of the Greek Old Testament (including the Apocrypha), one clear case in which συναγωγή (*synagoge*) is used in this its technical sense.

There are two words employed in the Old Testament, both of which are more or less represented in the LXX by συναγωγή. These are '*edah*' (עֵדָה) and '*qahal*' (קָהָל). The usage, so far as I gather it from Trommius' Concordance to the LXX, and Fürst's Hebrew Concordance, is as follows: '*edah*' occurs in the Old Testament 130 times, and in each case the LXX translates by συναγωγή; '*qahal*' occurs in the Hebrew Bible 107 times, in 70 of which ἐκκλησία is the Greek word used, συναγωγή taking its place in the remaining 37 passages. *Tsibbor*, though much in vogue in post-biblical Hebrew, never occurs in the Bible. '*Edah*' means "an appointed meeting," from the root *ya'ad* (for *wa'ad*) Arabic *wa'ada* "to appoint a place" (Jer. 47:7), or "a time" (2. Sam 26:5).

From '*edah*' the Aramaic word for church, '*idta*', is derived, and in the Christian writings which remain to us in the so-called Syriac tongue, this '*idta*' is the word which represents the Greek term for church, ἐκκλησία.

Qahal, the other Old Testament word rendered συναγωγή has a more select signification, for it denotes a *called* assembly, *i. e.*, I take it, "an assembly of men called out, chosen;" it answers exactly, therefore, to the Greek ἐκκλησία, both in its etymology and its usage. The simple verbal form of this root is not used, though from the derivative forms its meaning is known to be "to call;" it is in fact the same root that we have in the Latin *calo*, also written *kalo* (technical term for calling a religious assembly); in Greek καλέω (of which ἐκκλησία is compounded);

in Welsh *galw*; and in English *call*. '*Edah* is a more general term for *any* assembly. *Qahal* is a *special religious* assembly.

In post-biblical Hebrew the word commonly used for synagogue is *beth hakkēnēseth*, but this never shows itself in the Old Testament, nor is there one reference in the Old Testament that clearly implies the synagogue.

Yet almost certainly this institution came into being during the captivity in Babylon, when there arose a great zeal for the law, for neglecting which the nation was banished. They could not offer sacrifices, as the temple was at Jerusalem; all the more earnestly were they likely to devote themselves to the sacred oracles. The contrast between their own faith and that around them could not but intensify their interest in their own law, for the purpose of studying which they probably met together, the priests and others acting as leaders. This is but *a priori* reasoning, I know, but the supposition made is a probable one, and it is supported by the fact that soon after the exiles' return there are clear traces of the synagogue. It has been already pointed out that the synagogue had a function wholly different from the Hebrew temple. The latter was not entered by any man except the priest. It was built to be the palace or trysting place of Jehovah. The synagogue was, like our modern church, open to all the people. In the temple incense was offered, but nothing else was done. Sacrifices were offered outside at the altar of burnt offering. But in the synagogue the Scriptures were read and expounded. In the courts of the temple, besides the sacrificing, there was singing and playing of instruments in connection with the worship of Jehovah.

Our oldest and most reliable sources of information as to the things done in the early synagogue are the New Testament and the works of Philo and Josephus. Now there is nothing said in these writings to show that any function obtained in the synagogue in the time of our Lord except instruction. The law was read and expounded, but nothing else was done.

After the destruction of the temple in A. D. 71, a great change came about in the synagogue service. No sacrifice could be offered away from the altar of burnt offering at Jerusalem. But

every other part of the temple service was as far as possible grafted onto the synagogue, so that worship was joined to instruction and indeed soon became the predominant element: the duties of priest and rabbi were joined.



RUINS OF A SYNAGOGUE AT KEFR BIR'ÎM.

It is of this second, this temple-synagogue, as I might call it, that the Mishnah and Gemara speak, and about which Vitringa, Lightfoot the elder, and most authorities write. I do not think that sufficient care has been taken to discriminate the synagogue proper about which we read in the New Testa-

ment from the temple-synagogue of the time subsequent to A. D. 71.

The modern synagogue and the most ancient of which traces remain, none going back to our Lord's time,¹ are constructed after the pattern of the temple. As you enter, just at the opposite end—the eastern—in this country, is the so-called *haikal*, where the sacred rolls are kept. This corresponds to the *dēbhîr* of the Old Testament. Close to the door is a platform called *bema*, corresponding to the altar of burnt offerings. The gallery answers to the court of the women. Between the *bema* and the door are benches occupied by the poorer people, and by strangers, which have their counterpart in the court of the Gentiles in the temple area.²

As at the start I said there are in the Old Testament two tabernacles, one of them better rendered with the R. V. "tent," so we must distinguish two synagogues in Jewish history, one of them belonging to the period from the exile to the destruction of the temple in A. D. 71; the other, conveniently named "temple-synagogue," is that of the time from A. D. to the present day.

Modern Jews, however, differentiate what they call *beth midrash*, which is merely a school usually adjoining the synagogue, and *beth hakkēnēseth*, where the ordinary religious services are conducted. The latter term was used for the synagogue proper in early times.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The earliest Christians met in the synagogues and had no thought at the first of breaking away from them. They thought that by reasoning with the Jews in their own assemblies about the Christ they would bring their fellow-countrymen to accept him. Even if they failed in this, they had not, at the beginning, any intention of forming a new sect.

¹ Unless we except the ruins of a synagogue of Tel-Hum (Capernaum), supposed to be that built by the centurion. [But *cf., contra, Palestine Expl. Fund*: "Survey of Western Palestine, 1881, Memoirs," Vol. I, pp. 416–17.]

² *Cf.* two articles by the present writer on "The Modern Jew and his Synagogue," *Old and New Testament Student*, September and October 1891.

We have analogues to this in the two great Methodist movements of the last century, that of Wales, due to Daniel Rowland and Howell Harris, and that of England, due to the Wesleys and, in a smaller degree, to Whitfield. The leaders were



ST. ANNE'S CHURCH.

From a Photograph by Bonfils.

all clergymen of the established church, and had for a long time no idea of being anything else. They never dreamed at the commencement of their public labors of founding the powerful and wonderfully blessed churches they left behind them. But they had no choice; they had either to give up their work and their principles, or leave the church in which they were born. Likewise the early Christians were forced by sheer necessity to have meeting places and to form societies of their own.

But these early Christian societies must have been formed after the model of the synagogue and not after that of the temple. The members had all, as in the synagogue, a right to

enter and take part. It is also probable that the early church buildings were copies of the synagogue, though we are here again left to *a priori* reasoning.

The eastern church, and the Roman Catholic branch of the western church retain the temple, or more correctly the temple-synagogue, service, with more or less of its priestly character and of its ritual. Greater prominence is given to worship, and the common people are less regarded.

The same remarks apply to the high church, which is a return, not to apostolic principles and methods, but to the church of the early Fathers, and of the Middle Ages, as modified under temple and heathen influences.

The three orders of church officers, bishops, priests, and deacons, have been identified by their defenders with the high priests, priests, and Levites of the later biblical writings.

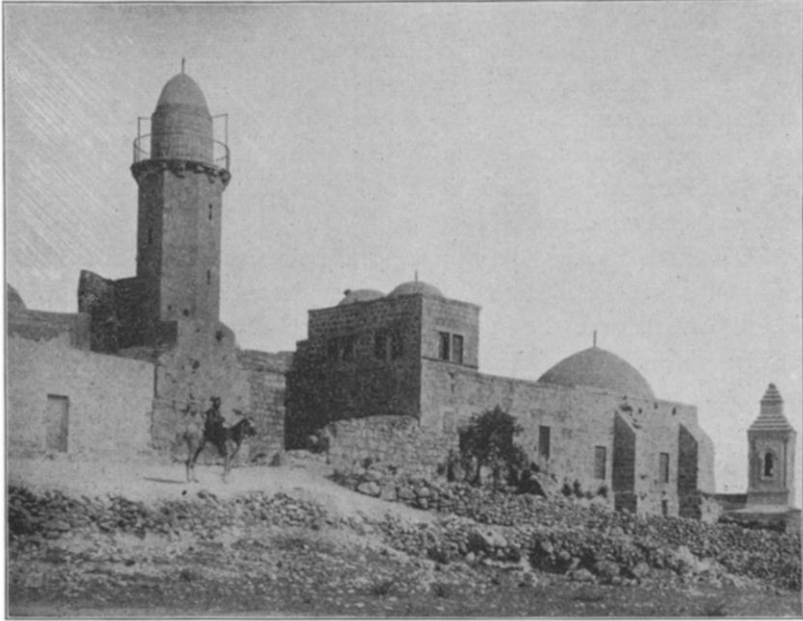
Dr. Bickell in his *Messe und Pascha*, the substance of which has been put into English under the title of *The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual* (T. & T. Clark, 1891), tries to show that the principal features of the church liturgies can be traced back to the worship of the temple. But he fails to produce a single proof of his position. In truth, he cannot bring forward unquestionable evidence either that the Jews used a liturgy at their service, or that we have anywhere certain remains of it. The Mishnah is too late for his purpose, as, at the earliest, no part was *written* before the close of the second century of the Christian era. The *Shema*, the שְׁמוֹנֶה עָשָׂר (Shemôneh-‘esreh, *i. e.*, 18, because it contains eighteen paragraphs, though on special occasions a nineteenth is added), and the בְּרָכוֹת (bĕrakôth), “blessings,” are all that can be traced even in the Mishnah, and these represent little if anything more than our benediction, Lord's Prayer, and hymns.

But the attempt of Dr. Bickell¹ is noteworthy, as indicating a desire to make the service of the Christian church approximate to the Jewish temple.

The Protestant churches, and especially those which call

¹ He is a member, although a free and very generous one, of the Roman Catholic church.

themselves nonconformist or free, give more attention to instruction; the sermon is the outstanding feature of the service. Sunday schools are promoted and other modes of educating the people. The lay, or unofficial, have part in the government and



ANCIENT CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION.

From a Photograph by Bonfils.

not seldom preach the sermon. These branches of the Christian church, therefore, follow in the wake of the synagogue; the temple with its priesthood, incense, and sacrificial worship, yields to the synagogue with its rabbinate, its education, and its spiritual worship. Those Christians, on the other hand, eastern or western, which put greater stress on the temple adjuncts named above, conform to the temple type, and cannot be traced earlier than the time the temple-synagogue arose, A. D. 71, and for a considerable period after this.

Churches of the synagogue type have corresponding officers. The synagogue was ruled by elders of whom one was chief.

Reference is made in the New Testament to "rulers of the synagogue" (Mark 5:22; Acts 13:15) and to *the* ruler of the synagogue (Matt. 5:35; Acts 18:5, "Crispus *the* ruler of the synagogue," R. V.). Dr. Lightfoot the elder and Vitringa (*De*



GENERAL VIEW OF THE MOSQUE OF OMAR.

From a Photograph by Bonfils.

Synagoge) argue from Acts 13:14-50 that the constitution and government of the apostolic church followed the synagogue. They proceed further to maintain that in this we have a Scripture proof of the Presbyterian form of church government. The premises do not, however, justify their conclusion, for the very utmost that can be inferred is that the early church was Congregational-Presbyterian; what Joseph Fletcher calls "intra-Congregational Presbyterianism" (*History of Independency*, Vol. I, Introd.), and what Dr. Dale prefers to name Presbyterian Independency (*Manual of Congregational Principles*, p. 77). Each synagogue was independent of every other, but each, too,

was ruled by a court of elders selected by members of the synagogue.

The critical interpretation of Old Testament history, according to which the reign of the prophet precedes that of the priest, supplies a parallel curiously and significantly similar to the course that early church history took. Christ and the apostles were preëminently prophetic in the matter and manner of their preaching. The moral law and not the ceremonial, and indeed the moral law as against the ceremonial, was the burden of their preaching. In the second century we find the gradual assumption of authority, whilst the place of ritual became more and more important. In the first century there was practically no distinction between *κλήρος* ("clergy"), and *λαός* ("people"). In the third century this distinction was complete, besides which there were grades introduced among the *kleros*. How much like this is the evolution of priestism in the Old Testament! First of all, in Deuteronomic times, the tribe of Levi was set apart; then the distinctions within this tribe of Levites, priests and high priests in the times of P. So the history of priestism in the Old Testament and in church history runs on very similar lines.

Let this paper be closed by one or two thoughts which naturally suggest themselves.

1. Under all forms of religion, and in the absence of any form at all, men have found God and derived satisfaction and help for life's duties from worshiping and otherwise recognizing him.

2. Mere wonder and ignorant fear have, with the advance of knowledge, given way to views about God which make him nearer to every man, and more capable of rendering aid. He is not shut up to this place or that. Wherever two or three meet to call upon him, whether in Puritan meetinghouse, in catacomb, in cave, in barn, or in stately cathedral, has he been found of the true seeker. It is the *man*, not the *place*, nor the ritual, that prevails with God, though both place and ritual may help the man to feel as he ought to in the divine presence.

3. At first there was no building to worship in, no set forms, nor any priesthood; then spots were fixed and enclosures for

Deity were erected, and a special class of men were tolled off to attend to religious matters. These, in the course of time, acquired an influence, and put forth claims out of all proportion to their real worth.

The tendency of growing knowledge is to give more place to education in religious assemblies and less to the superstitious and sentimental ; but there is a danger of going too far in this direction as in the other. God is not merely an object of thought. He is to be revered, loved, and trusted. Schleiermacher was wrong in making religion to consist of mere feeling, but they are equally wrong who, as Hegel, make it a mere function of thought.